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given on p. 528). Others are Tsonara the fisherman (*ara* = to catch fish with rod and hook); Ataras, the pinna shell; Kuka, the crab; Toa, the fowl; Idetesoan, men carrying a prisoner on a stretcher (*tesoan*) to the place where he is to be eaten; Bannus, a bird with wings spread and an almond in his mouth. Another group represents two men with a dog behind them, pursued by a crocodile which is trying to eat the dog, and another, two brothers, one of whom is teaching the other how to copulate. The Milky Way is called Ru'in (= water) and is thought to be a river. The tides are connected with a constellation called Bobo, which is supposed to resemble a fish. When Bobo sets into the sea the tide comes in and swallows up the shore, i.e. there is an exceptionally high tide. When Bobo twinkles, it is because the fish is eating a stone.

The people living on the east coast of Buka have more knowledge of the stars than those of the north coast of Bougainville, because they use them for guidance on long voyages in big plank canoes, the Bougainville people contenting themselves with much shorter local journeys. The Kurtatchi people told me this, and it was confirmed by inquiries made on a visit to Hanahan (E. Buka), where I obtained a detailed description of a canoe being steered by the stars to the island of Nissan (see p. 381). At Kurtatchi the people were not much interested in these matters, and few knew anything about them.

FLORA AND FAUNA

I can make no attempt to give a scientific account of the flora and fauna of the region. It seems to be essentially similar to that of other parts of Melanesia, which has been described by Guppy and others. The following notes are given in order to provide a picture of the environment in which the natives live and work, and on the products of which they are dependent for their subsistence and for the means of manufacturing practically all of their material possessions.

All, even the children, have an extraordinarily detailed knowledge of the trees, shrubs, and even of the small plants and grasses that grow in their locality. Many of these are, of course, utilized in some way or other, as food, or for 'making medicine', or in connexion with one or other of the native crafts. But they can

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give a name even to those which they say are of no use to them. Unfortunately, in many cases I was unable to identify the plants of which the native names were given to me.[1] Sometimes the same term will be used for a number of plants of similar habits of growth, e.g. *wanis*, fairly translatable by our generic word 'grass', and *kurits*, used for a hanging vine or creeper, often as a prefix attached to another word. There is a generic word for 'tree'—*no'on*, which also means wood, especially firewood (*kuip no'on*, to cut firewood, one of the women's daily tasks).

Some of the trees appear not to be indigenous. Mrs. Hadden told me that her father, Mr. Parkinson, the anthropologist, who was the first white man to live in this region (about forty years ago), introduced some of the citrus fruits and other useful trees, which have since spread rapidly throughout the area.

The natives cultivate coco-nut palms, areca palms, and bananas, as well as taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) and other vegetables (some account of their food plants is given in Chapter VIII). Bread-fruit trees and canarium almonds are highly prized, the position of each one is known, and they are always spared when fresh ground is cleared for a new taro garden. Some of the trees which go to make up the uncut bush yield a hard timber which is found useful by the resident whites for building and for piles, especially such as withstand the ravages of salt water. But the difficulty of transportation renders these of no commercial value. The natives use them for house-posts and other purposes, but prefer the soft-timbered trees for their canoes. The most striking objects in the bush are huge trees with enormous flanges buttressing their trunks, and the aerial roots of the banyans, which serve the natives as ridge poles for their huts. Several different kinds of palm and of bamboo are used for a variety of purposes. A big carophyllum tree is a frequent landmark on the lee shore, affording welcome shade under which the men sit mending their nets and the women making hoods or baskets or playing with their babies. A large fallen trunk on the beach at Petats was a favourite gathering-place for all. Parts of the shore are covered with mangrove swamps, which make landing impossible.

Of smaller growth, there are several kinds of croton and hibiscus,

[1] For the identification of some of them I am indebted to the authorities of Kew Gardens. A list of these will be found in Appendix III. Others I have recognized from the description given by Guppy.

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been a very large and important taro garden he would have done so. The people of Tabut do not keep to the old customs as strictly as the Kurtatchi people; they have been for a longer time subject to the ministrations of a native mission teacher who is trying to make them stop all the ceremonies connected with the *urar*. It may be that this was a contributory factor. The customary rules were also relaxed so far as to permit the boys wearing the *upi* to assist at the preparations, and the women wore their hoods, neither of which was allowed at the Kurtatchi ceremony.

Coco-nuts

Coco-nuts are cultivated by all the coast natives. They do not flourish in the mountain districts.

The following are the terms applied to the coco-nut at various stages in its development:

Stage of growth.	*Kurtatchi dialect.*	*Petats dialect.*
Generic term used for the nut at all stages, and for the coco-nut palm	*ūir*	*ūel*
Very young nut	*kukūts*	*teō*
Young nut before it contains liquid		*pēsis* or *pēli*
Nut containing liquid before 'meat' appears	*kompēn*	*kaharut*
Nut with thin layer of meat at the creamy stage ('drinking coco-nut')	*mayur*	*irabil*
Nut with meat a little firmer (also used for drinking)	*wisi*	*kuvo*
Nut containing a little liquid and thick meat (the liquid at this stage is bitter and is not considered palatable)	*wakamitthoma*	*rut*
Nut the meat of which has hardened ('dry' coco-nut)	*mukas* or *makas*	*lay*
Mature nut the outer skin of which is not yet dry	*avoy*	*pitor*
Nut the kernel of which has become spongy	*awan*	*tunun*
Nut which has become dry and has fallen to the ground		*tus* or *alaun*
Nut which has sprouted		*kala*

The Government encourages the natives to plant coco-nut palms, requiring trees to be started for every child born. Apart from the use of the nut as food and drink, the meat is dried in the sun or on platforms over a fire, to make copra, which is taken by the planters in exchange for trade goods, such as loin-cloths, knives, &c., or for shillings, with which the head-tax of 10*s*. per year on every adult male must be paid. But now that the copra market has fallen upon evil days, it is becoming increasingly difficult for

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the natives to get a price for it in any way commensurate with the labour involved, and there seems but little future for the industry, as far as they are concerned. The attention given to the native coco-nut groves is chiefly confined to clearing up a little now and then, young palms being allowed to come up where the nuts happen to fall. They are a characteristic feature of most beach scenes, overhanging the shore in picturesque confusion, pleasanter to look at, and easier to climb, but less productive than those which stand in orderly ranks of straight trunks on a white man's plantation. Once in a while, especially after a reprimand from the District Officer, there is a sudden burst of activity, in which everybody sets to work clearing away the undergrowth which covers the roots, and tearing down the parasitic and other creepers which festoon the branches. The casual way in which the native treats his coco-nut palms is all the more noticeable in contrast to the meticulous care which is lavished on the taro garden, where, of course, neglect would result in the complete absence of a crop. Similarly, in contrast to the many 'prescriptions' connected with the cultivation of taro, I know of only one directed towards the improvement of the coco-nut palm. A possible reason for this may lie in the fact that while the taro crop is precarious, depending largely on weather conditions, the coco-nut palm may be relied upon to produce a crop without much danger of its failing. The single 'prescription' known to me runs as follows:

Bariw (*Crinum asiaticum*).

Pound the roots of this plant and mix them with *oin*. Rub this mixture on the trunks of the coco-nut palms. This will ensure that they will bear well.

Bananas

A great many varieties of edible banana are known and distinguished by name; the appearance and taste of each is familiar to most natives. A group consisting of two men and two women once gave me a list of thirty-seven varieties at a sitting, with comments on them.

A certain amount of trouble is taken to cultivate many of these varieties. They are sometimes planted in clearings, made for the purpose, and sometimes amongst the taro or in a portion of the taro-garden reserved for them. When the young fruit has formed, the whole bunch is tied up in a bag made of coco-nut fibre.

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their time in securing it, but the methods employed by men and women are, for the most part, distinct and separate, the latter confining themselves to the reefs and rock pools and the shallow water close inshore. The Buka men will venture some distance out into the open sea in the hope of getting a good catch, but the Kurtatchi people do not care to go too far away from the shore, even after the much-prized bonito.

As is to be expected in a matter of so much importance, there is a great deal of magic associated with fishing. The various kinds of 'medicine' are considered appropriate to special methods, and will be discussed in reference to these. I do not know of any which is applicable to fishing in general. There are also magical ways of calming the sea before starting out. Of these the following is typical:

Chew the root of *pai'ukes* (*Pennisetum macrostachyum*) with the betel-mixture, and spit it on to the mid-rib of a coco-nut-palm leaf. Plant this leaf on the shore just where a big wave will reach it. The wave will then go back and calm the sea.

The principal methods of fishing practised in this area will now be discussed in some detail.

Bonito fishing

Of all their fishing activities, by far the most important, in the estimation of these people, is bonito fishing. The bonito (*Sarda* sp.) is called *atūn*, a word current throughout all the dialects in this area, and clearly the same as the Polynesian word *'atu* used in Samoa (Hiroa, 1930, p. 124). Near every village along the coast there is a small clearing at a high point, from which a view over the open sea can be obtained. Here a look-out is kept, somewhat spasmodically, for the splashing of water and the circles of sea-birds which mark the presence of a shoal of bonito in pursuit of the small fish (*wobot*, *iō*, *talī*, *osa*, *mambul*) on which they feed. As soon as any one sees these signs he raises a characteristic yell, which is heard at no other time. The sound instantly sends all the available men and boys in the village scurrying to the place where the canoes are kept. They launch with all speed, and paddle hard to catch up with the shoal before it gets too far away. More often than not they seem to come home empty-handed, but if any fish

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it is collected from the reef. This seaweed (*mō*) is a calcareous alga which Dr. Haddon tells me is used for the same purpose from Matty Islands to Santa Cruz. A zigzag pattern (*bīja*) may be painted in red along each side at the upper or lower margin, or both.

No ceremonies accompany the launching of a dug-out canoe.

TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH DUG-OUT CANOE[1]

Meaning of Term.	*Petats.*	*Kurtatchi.*
Dug-out canoe with outrigger	*dyini*	*tfindo*
Tree of which it is generally made	*nārtil*	*tfindo*
Keel	*kakin*	
Rim	*pōnakan*	
Sides	*rihin*	
Generic term for either end (same word as for 'nose')	*fisū*	*gipirus*
Bow	*mūs*	*matōm*
Stern	*tao*	*kapitz*
Hook on either end (same word as for 'hornbill')	*pōpo*	*tfitfio*
Shape of outline from keel to hook	*lōmut*	
Outrigger booms and poles forming platform	*kikilin* (*kikilī*)	*mondr*
Sticks (2) inside canoe, to which the outrigger booms are fastened	*ōkau*	*tapdr*
Cross-bars bracing platform	*pinin*	*pinil*
Stick attachment joining float to booms	*ki*	*ka*
Binding fixing booms to canoe	*pūpil*	*lau*
Creeper of which this is made (*Legnaleum dichotomum* Sw.)	*alaun*	*daun*
Outrigger float	*kātal* or *kakar*	*ag* or *wogu*
Paddle	*kar*	*ouar*

Size. Three grades are distinguished by name, the actual measurements varying slightly within each class: *dyini kakerik*, a small canoe suitable for two people but manageable by one paddler alone; *dyini kakal*, medium size, can be paddled by two, but will take a passenger or a third paddler if required; *dyini dyin*, a large canoe for four or more people; these are unusual as they are rather clumsy to manage.

My own table of measurements was unfortunately lost, but the following, kindly taken by Mr. Gordon Thomas on the island of Pororan, may be regarded as typical of the whole area.

[1] Some of the Petats terms have been previously recorded by Friederici (1912, p. 293).

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396 TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH MAKING OF PLANK CANOE

Meaning of Term	*Kurtatchi dialect*
192 Canoe	*mon*
197 Bow of *mon*	*matom*
Stern of *mon*	*hapits*
Planks, collectively (lit. 'wood (of) *mon*')	*nō'ōn mon*
Middle plank of bottom	*watēn*
First plank on either side of it	*pāl*
Second „ „ „ „	*bātawa*
Third „ „ „ „ (in a large canoe)	*wagin*
All these lie nearly flat and are submerged when the canoe is in the water.	
Side plank, above the water	*warin*
Charred outside of *warin*	*rau*
Plank let in at end of *warin*, carrying ornamental pattern cut or burnt on it	*watsinan*
Plank above *watsinan*, painted white, occasionally with pattern	*tāriom*
End-keel curving up from bottom at both ends	*lāmut*
Pointed boards fixed along end-keel	*bibian*
Bevelled edges of planks in which holes are bored for attaching next plank	*pits*
Ledges with holes for fixing cross-pieces at bow and stern	*bēbēkil*
Cross-pieces, served with *asam*	*bēbēkil* or *kowara*
Ledges for fixing rib-frames	*kutē* or *kortēv*
Rib-frames, carved in traditional pattern	*mapō*
Holes forming integral part of pattern (lit. 'eye (of) *kutē*')	*matan kutē* or *matan kortēv*
Planks laid (without fastening) upon these to serve as seats	*poan*
To caulk the seams with 'putty nut'	*asin ta atfitf*
Platform on which *mon* is fixed during construction	*papan*
Forked sticks on which platform is raised to height convenient for working	*atōn*
Tree of which planks are made	*pānats*
Coloured grass used on end-keel for decoration	*kiwar*
Shed in which *mon* is kept when finished	*hek*

501 *Size.* The size of a *mon* is reckoned according to the number of its *poan*, i.e. seats, each accommodating two persons, except that at the stern, which is for the steersman only. The largest were those used in warfare, and now that the days of fighting are over, they have no function and have ceased to be made. These war-canoes frequently held thirty or forty men, but at the present time a *mon* with ten *poan*, holding eighteen paddlers and a steersman, is considered a large one. Most of those I saw in process of construction were for use in bonito fishing, for which three *poan* is considered the appropriate size. But each group of adjacent villages likes to have one with eight or ten *poan* at the disposal of

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its head men when they require to visit the Government Station at Buka Passage, as they are called upon to do on the occasions of the annual visit of the Administrator (see Pl. 1 *a*).

There is a special series of terms for designating the size of a *mon* according to the number of *poan*:

koak, small *mon* for children to play with, or large enough for one man.
pokoak,[1] *mon* with two *poan*, i.e. suitable for two paddlers and a steersman. May be used for bonito fishing.
pokuban, *mon* with three *poan*, the size usual for bonito fishing.
potana, *mon* with four *poan*.
potonin, *mon* with five *poan*.
potonon, *mon* with six *poan*.
poanun, *mon* with ten *poan*, the largest now made.

Dimensions of *mon* with three *poan*

Length, 27 ft. 4 in. from bow to stern.
Width, 3 ft. at widest part, in the middle (inside edge of *warin*).
Width of planks, about ¼ in.
Depth of side plank (*wavin*), i.e. total height above water, 1 ft.
Length of *waistnan*, 6 ft. 9 in., of which pattern extended for 3 ft. 6 in.
Floor, 5 planks each about 6 in. wide.

Launching of mon. Canoes are never given names. When a new *mon* is put into the water for the first time, it is carried down to the shore, from the shelter where it has been during the later stages of its construction, on the shoulders of some of the men who have worked upon it. I have seen a small one (with three *poan*) carried on the shoulders of two men. A crew of men and boys man it, and it is taken out a short distance, paddled round for a while, and then brought in and put into the shed which has been prepared for it on the shore. The men concerned in the making of it then meet in the men's house and eat ceremonial pudding which the owner of the *mon* and his friends have previously prepared. If there is any over when they have all eaten as much as they wish, they send it to their womenfolk, who eat it in their own quarters. The men who have helped in the making of a *mon* receive no payment other than this feast, but when they wish to make one for themselves they would call upon the owner for his help in turn. Any man may own a *mon*; I never heard of a woman doing so. As the labour of making

[1] These words are made up of *po* (for *poan*) prefixed to the ordinary numerals.

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the heightened walls, with a space between them and the roof, render the new style of houses an improvement from the point of view of hygiene. It involves some readjustment of native habits, if only for the reason that fires cannot so readily be made inside the house, though this difficulty is being met by the provision of an earth hearth in one corner.

TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH HUTS

(*Kurtatchi dialect*)

Term	*Explanation*
inu	hut.
a oror	the two side walls.
kurik	the uprights supporting the side walls.
kōbū	the planks of areca palm of which the side walls are made.
u bē	rattan, with which the *kōbū* are tied to the *kurik*.
toan	general term for all the carved posts which support the roof.
taras a toan	to carve the house-posts.
peyeis	very hard wood, red when cut, of which the *toan* are made (? a species of mahogany).
gus	the taller posts in the centre, which support the ridge-pole (three or more along centre line of hut).
wal	the posts on either side of these.
pu'i	ridge-pole and two side poles, resting on the *toan* and running the length of the hut, to support the rafters. These are made of the aerial roots of the banyan (*o ō*). If it is required to distinguish the ridge-pole from the side poles, the former is called *gus* and the latter *wal*, corresponding to the verticals on which they rest.
walwal or *tataras*	arched lathes forming rafters of roof, supporting thatch.
ariko	tree from which the *walwal* are cut. (*Cordyline ferrea*.)
rigis	tree (with large yellow flowers) the inner bark of which is used to tie *walwal* to cross-slats.
pupuwa or *kikimot*	slats running parallel to side of house at intervals on both sides, keeping the *walwal* in position.
talaah	poles laid across the structure to serve as scaffolding, afterwards removed.
matalau	upper ridge-pole, laid on the top of the actual ridge-pole after the *walwal* have been put into position, resting on them where they cross each other.

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pirpo	lower of two cross-pieces at ends of hut, and across at each house-post. Any kind of wood may be used for these.
tokoman	upper of two cross-pieces at ends and at house-posts.
[824] *a tō*	sago palm whose leaves are used for thatch. Thatch also called *a tō*.
nin	outer bark of stem of plant of that name used to tie sheets of thatch to the *walwal*.
gerom or *girum*	mid-rib of sago-palm leaf, used to fix leaves together in lengths to make thatch.
tʃir a tō	to prepare the sago-palm leaves by taking out the mid-rib.
kisib	to make the holes for fixing the leaves together.
tʃiku a tō	to fix the leaves together into lengths ready to put on.

The men's house.

342 The men's house (*tobár*) is made in exactly the same way as the ordinary huts of the village; the size varies according to the number of people who are likely to use it. Besides serving as the sleeping apartment for the boys wearing the *upi*, the *tobár* is the men's club; its front verandah is seldom without a group of men sitting or [485 614] standing round talking and chewing the betel mixture. To it male guests from other villages are taken on their arrival, each to the *tobár* of the clan to which he belongs.

The *tobár*, two or more, as the case may be, are sometimes placed just outside the main line of huts, from which they may be screened by a hedge of trees or a bit of uncut bush. But often they are placed in the centre of the village, abutting on, or actually in the precincts of, the central space where dances are held. The three [487] *tobár* of the original village of Kurtatchi were a little to one side of the village, and had special paths leading from them to the shore, which might not be used by women, who avoided their vicinity altogether. The two which were constructed after the moving of the village of Gomen to join that of Kurtatchi, were built at one end of the central space, between the two lines of huts added by [768] the Gomen people. The hut of a man who had died was taken down to make room for them, the boys who had shared it with him being afraid to go on living there. Even in that prominent position, the *tobár* were strictly avoided by the women, who always made their way round by the back of the lines of huts.

342 574 *Ceremony on completion of tobár.* The completion of a new *tobár* is signalized by a feast involving the killing of several pigs,

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other clan resident in the village, but these were not allowed to eat in the house. The women of the Manu clan ate on the back verandah, outside the house. This is the only occasion on which women may come to the men's house. When all the provisions had either been eaten or packed up to take home, the people dispersed.

In accordance with the practice of making the most of an occasion, this feast, which was primarily intended for the new men's house, was also made to serve for the burying of the pillow belonging to Gonu's father, and for the piercing of the nasal septum of four boys who had reached the appropriate age. Both of these proceedings are described elsewhere (pp. 492 and 425).

Fire-making

Fire is made by the stick and groove method (Pl. 57). A stick of hard wood, whittled to a point—now by a trade knife, but formerly by means of a black-lip oyster-shell or with the teeth, is rubbed along a larger piece of soft wood, held down firmly, on the ground or on a log, by a second person. The person rubbing crosses his fingers over the rubbing-stick and moves it up and down using considerable pressure, till a groove is formed in the softer wood below. The dust rubbed away is pushed into a heap at the far end of the groove by means of a splinter. No other tinder is used. The time required varies considerably with the skill of the performer, but a spark is usually produced in a few seconds. The spark is then blown very carefully until the sawdust at the end of the groove ignites.

Several kinds of trees were named as being suitable for both the rubbing-stick and the grooved stick. It is essential that one should be hard and the other soft, and that the wood used for the grooved stick should have a straight grain.

TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH FIRE-MAKING

Term	*Explanation*
tsura	fire.
io to iun no tsura	I make fire by rubbing.
toahō	to hold the stick on which the other man is rubbing. This stick has no special name.
toeniun	the pointed stick with which the rubbing is done.
hatsu	the sawdust produced by the rubbing, which becomes the tinder.

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not often in demand. A very small pot is called *kolo* (Pl. 61*a*, no. 2). The other shape is elliptical, with a lip at each end for pouring. It is called *kepa* (Pl. 61*a*, no. 3). Its main use is for boiling the squeezed oil of grated coco-nuts to be added to pounded taro in the manufacture of ceremonial pudding (see p. 274) by the men.

Barter of pots.

Natives from all over Buka and the north-western end of Bougainville make trips to Malasang to trade for pots, and the Malasang people also bring them, sometimes, in canoes to other villages for barter. Their subsequent exchange for other goods carries them still farther afield. A medium-sized pot can be bought for three sticks of tobacco (the equivalent of one shilling) or an equal value in paint, cloth, &c. A large pot is worth four or five sticks, a very small one may be had for two. They are packed up very skilfully in the areca-palm fibre carriers (*kōbū*), and are taken to their destination on the backs of the women, piled so high that it seems almost impossible for them to arrive intact, yet they do (Pl. 61*b*).

Pots are broken ceremonially by their owners as a sign of anger or grief. The pots of a dead woman used to be broken by the mourners, but this custom is dying out.

I have not discovered any use that is made of potsherds. They lie about in large quantities in every village and on the sites of deserted villages. They are not broken up fine to serve as grit in the making of new pots, as is done by some primitive people.

The most careful inquiries failed to elicit any legends or traditions connected with the origin of pottery-making, the first potter, or the discovery of the clay. All they could tell me was that the craft had been practised for so long that nobody knew how it started. It is exceedingly flourishing at the present day, and there seems no likelihood of its dying out, or even being modified by the introduction of European tools, for some considerable time to come.

TERMS USED IN POTTERY-MAKING

(*Malasang Dialect*)

Materials and tools.

Term	*Explanation*
pitako	a greenish clay, obtained just below the surface soil in the bush.
mimia	substance said to resemble reddish sand, obtained from a hole in the side of a mountain some distance inland.

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sĭknak	wooden beater. 323
rĭko	round flat stone used to beat on. (*Rako* is the generic term for 'stone'.) 192
katsĭbĕlo	shell resembling a cockle, used to scratch the pattern on the rim of the pot.

Operations.

tĭpo	knead ball of mixture of *petako* and *memia*.
pŏsala	hollow out ball of mixture with hand and *rako* to make bottom of pot.
bŏnŏna	put on a coil of clay round the edge of an unfinished pot.
sak	beat down the coil with *saksak* and *rako*.
sĭhi	smooth over with wet hand.
katahamătsko	(lit. 'make good') pinch off bits of the edge to make it even after putting on the last coil.
sŏmoa	put on the ornamentation round the edge.
tăntăn	fire the pot.

Women's hoods

The hoods (*tō* or *dzĭlō* in the Petats dialect, *tăkop* in the Kurtatchi dialect) are worn by the women of Buka and the north coast of Bougainville (but not on either east or west coasts of that island) in accordance with the rule of avoidance of the relative called *halis* in the Petats dialect and *waris* in the Kurtatchi dialect, i.e. the husband of a daughter or a sister's daughter, and his brothers (see p. 73). The women carry their hoods with them whenever there is the least chance of coming across one of these taboo relatives, and put them on at his approach. They are worn in any case on all special occasions, such as a ceremonial visit or a ceremonial *hŏma*. The women also find the hoods useful to keep off rain or the heat of the sun, and are careful to protect the heads of the babies they carry on their backs while working. When not in use, the hoods are folded up along the joins of the leaves of which they are made. To put on the hood is *uwa takop*. 292 602

The hoods are made of pandanus leaves. The strong mid-rib is first stripped off, and the prickly outer edge of the leaf is cut away with a knife made of the black-lip oyster shell. The leaves are then left for a little while to dry in the sun. The next process is to rub them with sand very thoroughly, to clean and smooth them. They are then rolled up tightly and laid on the ground, where they unroll a little. There they remain till thoroughly dry, being turned over 294 824

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describing the various articles so treated. The coast natives do not know the secret of making the colour permanent, they therefore buy dyed leaves for special purposes from the mountain people, who have discovered how to use a mordant (see p. 231).

Black. The substance which produces black paint (*tʃina*) consists of selected fragments of volcanic ash which have been attacked by acid vapours after volcanic eruption. This is obtained from the people of the interior in the same way as *oin*. Black is also produced by mixing charcoal with oil. Ordinary wood from the fire may be used for this purpose, but more often coco-nut shells are charred and ground up specially. Black thus obtained is called *aniv*.

White (*iwi* or *wiwi*) is made from powdered sulphur from a volcanic deposit, and, like *oin* and *tʃina*, must be obtained by barter from the people of the interior. This kind of paint is used chiefly for making the line round the edge of the hair on forehead and temples. For the head, lime (*iav*), obtained by burning branched coral and crushing it, is used. Combed well into the hair, it gives the appearance of a powdered wig (Pl. 66*a*). The result of this treatment is eventually to bleach the hair to a reddish-yellow. If the individual tires of this, he can make his hair black again by a liberal application of *tʃina*. The drastic change thus suddenly produced in a man's personal appearance is very striking.

In painting wooden objects, such as paddles and canoes, white is produced by rubbing the surface with the seaweed *mō*, a calcareous alga. A handful of this is taken, freshly gathered from the reef, and rubbed, wet, over the portion to be coloured, without further preparation.

Yellow to be used on the person is made from crushed coral prepared as for making *wiwi*, to which a preparation of the leaves of the mango tree is added. The leaves are either squeezed in the hand or chewed, and then mixed with the lime powder. A yellow dye, for grass or cane, &c., is made from the tuberous rhizome of the plant *totomoin* (turmeric, *Curcuma longa*). The tuber is scraped, put into a pot with water, and heated but not boiled; the substance to be dyed is then put into the pot and left to soak.

Discrimination of colours.

I obtained the terms for different colours by showing to various people the coloured paper disks furnished with the Milton

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Bradley colour top,[1] subsequently checking the information thus obtained by reference to various objects. The following terms were given by natives of Kurtatchi. There was no variation in the words used for black (*bubuits*), white (*kakawo*), and yellow (*totomoin*, the same word as is used for turmeric). To the dark red disk of the colour top series I added another red disk, almost vermillion. Some used the same word (*wuruir*) for both of these, a few gave to the dark red the name *owan*, as it resembled the colour of the variety of iron oxide to which they apply that term. All used the same word (*pipiri*) for blue as for green. One qualified the word, as applied to the green disk, by the addition of *ga*, an intensifying particle, equivalent to our 'real' or 'very'. The orange disk puzzled them. Some called it *kakawo* (white), some *wuruir* (red), some *totomoin* (yellow). One called it 'pretence red', another said it was 'married to' the yellow. They have no colouring matter resembling it, and the citrous fruits with which they are familias are either green or pale yellow, so perhaps they have never had need of a separate term for the colour we call orange. The purple disk (a somewhat bluish-purple) also presented difficulty. Most called it *pipiri* (blue or green), but a few used the word *owan*, though it in no way resembles the colour of the iron oxide above referred to.

I frequently noticed that colours were compared which were to my eyes widely different. When examining some shells with a Petats man, I got from him the word *kulup* for the pale pink tint of the inside of a shell. He said it was the same colour as his loincloth, which was a bright red. On another occasion, some men were painting the outside of a new *mon* with the seaweed *mō*, which when freshly applied gives the wood a colour I should describe as a pale greenish yellow, though it is quite white when dry. I asked what the word for that colour was, and was told it was *bubuil*, 'just the same as that', said one of them, pointing to a pattern on my dress which was a very definite rather dark blue. This is not to say that the speakers did not see any difference between the two; possibly all that was meant was that the same word stood for both, but this fact is in itself interesting, in view of the very wide difference between colours to which the same word is applied, especially within the range of blues and greens.

[1] 'The Pupil's Color Top', no. 8109, issued by the Milton Bradley Co. Springfield, Mass.

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304 The reason given for this practice is that if it is not done too
[89] much blood stays in the body and the child will not grow big.[1]
On the girls, it is supposed to 'make their milk come up'. It
[832] is also liked by the men. 'They say: "That is a fine woman,
she has good marks on her body".' Tapē (Pl. 69*b*) was mentioned
—by a man—as one of the most beautiful girls in the village. She
is a commoner and the pattern on her body can be used by any one.

304 Besides the distinction between *tsunaun* and commoners there
184 are also differences due to locality. The patterns in the list here
given are used by the people of the north coast of Bougainville, as far as, and including, the island of Tiop at the extreme north-eastern corner, which also in other respects belongs to the same group. The Hahon people (inhabitants of the mountain district behind the northern coast-line) make a mark shaped thus SS in the centre of each cheek. The body is left unmarked except for a small ring on either buttock. The Kunua people have a line on each cheek, curving from the edge of the nostril up to the outer canthus, some ending in a circle on the upper portion of the cheek, just in front of the zygomatic arch. A child I saw, who looked no more than about eighteen months old, already had these marks. The coast people told me that the Kunua people put them on much earlier than they themselves did.

304 The following list gives the principal patterns in general use. It
[515] is worthy of note that the one called *lalōm* (Pl. 70*b*), used on the
[171] back of the neck of persons who are *tsunaun*, is almost identical
with that placed on the foreheads of the Araha (chiefly) clan among the people of San Cristoval (Fox, 1924, p. 16).

NAMES OF PATTERNS CUT ON SKIN

304 *pipi*, general term for cicatrization.
192 *gom*, marks cut on the face. These usually follow the features to some extent, somewhat like the Maori tattooing, but much less elaborate.
lalōm, pattern on back of neck of person of rank (m. or f.) (see Pl. 70*b*).

lalōm

wabuin

[1] As far as I could learn, the presence or absence of these marks had no connexion with the fate of the individual after death, as reported for the SE. Solomons by Ivens (1927, p. 182).

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304 *mabain*, pattern on chest of male, person of rank (Pl. 9*a*).

mapukun, pattern on thighs of women.

192 *atō*, representation of fruit of sago-palm, sometimes cut on thighs of women (I have not seen this).

mapakurin, marks cut along back of arm in both sexes. A series of groups of short cuts, each group going in a different direction.

watitin úrits, lines of short cuts running round back of shoulder on to arm, in both sexes.

wasákip, another word for the above, used by people who stand in a taboo relationship to a man named Watitin and therefore cannot use this word.

warirákin, rows of round weals down the back curving inwards from each armpit or from the shoulder. Women only (Pl. 11*b*).

wagunas, pattern covering chest and abdomen in women, both persons of rank and commoners (Pls. 69, 70).

sisir a kobár, marks representing the trail of the hermit crab, sometimes put on the outside of a woman's thigh, but more often made by men on their arms and chest with a piece of bottle or a knife (Pl. 11*a*).

CHARACTERISTIC DECORATION

531 Many articles of daily use, as well as objects of ceremonial importance, are decorated with various designs, either carved or painted, or, as in the case of paddles, first carved and then picked out with paint. Most of these are traditional. Some can be given a meaning, in other cases the meaning, if any, has been lost, and informants will say that the word used just means that particular pattern.

531 Elaborate designs are found on the young coco-nut shells which
415 are used to contain powdered lime for chewing with the betel-mixture. They are incised with a black-lip oyster shell, and lime is then rubbed into the lines to make them stand out against the dark polished shell. Some of them are shown in Pl. 72. The most important is one involving the human figure (seen on the left of the second row). Lime-pots with such patterns are carried by the novices at one stage of the *matawutf* ceremony, and are so highly

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is this *urar*?' 'I don't know where he is.' 'All right, by and by we will all go and paddle.' Another day some of the other people saw the *urar*, they saw him turn into a shark and into a *kitat5*; then they knew that what the man had told them was true.

My attention was first drawn to these transformations of *urar* into animals in connexion with discussions on death, and it is quite clear that this power is ascribed to the ghosts of people who have died and become *urar*. But while listening to tales dealing with similar transformations in the course of an evening's story-telling, I noticed that some of these beings did not seem to be regarded with quite the same intensity of fear and dread that was associated with the ghosts of the dead, although the same word, *urar*, was used. Furthermore, in translating these stories into pidgin-English, the word *maselai* was used in some cases, whereas the pidgin-English term for the ghost of a dead person is *tamboran*. When I inquired into this distinction, my informants were very vague in their replies, insisting that both were *urar*. Then my servant, who was present at the discussion, told me that in the Petats dialect they used different words, *amat* for the spirit of a person who had died, which he gave as the equivalent to the pidgin-English *tamboran*, and *halelehan* for the other spirits who were called in pidgin-English *maselai*. It would seem, therefore, as if there really were two kinds of spirits, one kind consisting of the ghosts of dead persons, and the other of spirits who had never been men, though the distinction is somewhat blurred in the use of the same word for both kinds in the Kurtatchi dialect. Perhaps the natives are not very clear about it themselves, for whenever I asked them to explain what they meant by *urar* I was always told that it was a person who had died a long time ago. Since returning home, I have discovered that the same dual meaning is attached to the word *adaro* at San Cristoval and to the word *akalo* at Ulawa and Mala (Fox, 1924, p. 107), which corroborates the evidence given above.

Among the spirits which are called *urar* but should perhaps (though I am not certain as to this) not be considered as the ghosts of persons who have died, there are apparently included certain *urar* who, in the form of animals, are associated with individual men or women in a manner rather difficult to define, but constituting a bond which is clearly recognized. Such an individual claims that the *urar*-creature is 'my kinsman' (*bosuf*), that it will come at his call, and at his bidding will assist him, or his friends,

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supply of more or less local stories associating various stones or rocks[1] with *urar* and attributing to them certain powers and activities. I have notes on a number of these, of which the following are given as typical:

Mururi is the name of an *urar*; he is a rock on the beach at Timputs, which has a hole in its base. All the driftwood collects there, but no one takes it for firewood. Once a man did take some, and Mururi was very angry and prevented him from catching any fish. Some one who knew about Mururi told him what he had done.

There is a stone on the beach near Kurtatchi, which is an *urar* called Musinē. At night he becomes a man and goes fishing in the sea. He belongs to the Naboin clan; the Nakarib people cannot see him when he is a man. Once he had a mouth, but the sea dashed a big tree against his mouth and broke it.

Tawalir (the word means 'branch') is a horizontal stalagmitic formation, somewhat resembling the branch of a tree, at the lower edge of a big hole in the limestone cliff near Tabut. The story is that Tawalir used to be several miles farther east, but it quarrelled with another stone there, and said: 'You stop here, I will go and be master at the other point (the other horn of a bay).' So he went across the bay and climbed the cliff to the place where he is now. At night he comes to life and walks about. He is an *urar*.

Ku'enia is a rock on the east coast of Buka, near Malasang. It has a flat top. Fishermen put fish on it for the stone, and the stone eats them.

Matapar is another rock a little farther along the same coast. When men go fishing they take some sand and throw it on to the top of the stone, then plenty of little fish come close inshore.

Tonopoi is a rock which gives a man boils. Then he goes and rubs his boils against the stone, and says: 'Take back what you gave me.' Then the boils get well. This stone belongs to the Nakarib people.

Karakela is a rock which sticks up out of the water. If a very high tide comes and threatens to swamp the shore, the stone calls out and sends it back, saying the sea must not come up and spoil the places where it gets its food.

[1] The native word *matz* is used for both 'stone' and 'rock', so it is difficult to make a distinction. Those I have seen were in most cases large pieces which had at some time in the past broken away from the cliffs near by.